

310728Z Mar 92

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C O N F I D E N T I A L S E C T I O N 01 O F 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [PREL](#)  
SUBJECT: SERBS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: A QUESTION OF  
DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

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[11.](#) CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

[12.](#) ALTHOUGH ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN THE WARRING  
FACTIONS IN CROATIA CONTINUES TO BE OF CONCERN TO  
SERBS AND CROATS, BOTH SIDES (WITH THE ARRIVAL OF UN  
PEACEKEEPING FORCES) HAVE NOW APPARENTLY BEGUN TO  
FOCUS ON A NEW STRATEGY -- THE FORCED EVACUATION OF  
RESIDENTS OF THE OPPOSITE NATIONALITY FROM AREAS  
UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE OTHER. EACH SIDE HAS MADE  
SPECIFIC AND DETAILED CHARGES AGAINST THE OTHER,  
ACCUSING THE GUILTY PARTY OF THREATS, ABUSES,  
EXPULSIONS AND KILLINGS. ALTHOUGH THE CROATIAN  
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GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO VIEW HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AS  
POLITICAL QUESTIONS, SOME OFFICIALS, INCLUDING TO  
SOME DEGREE PRESIDENT TUDJMAN, ARE BEGINNING TO MAKE  
A CONNECTION BETWEEN TOLERATION OF VIOLATIONS OF THE  
HUMAN RIGHTS OF SERBS IN CROATIA WITH THE DECLINING  
STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC. THE PRIME  
MINISTER OF GOVERNMENT HAS SPOKEN OUT STRONGLY  
AGAINST SUCH ABUSES AND INSISTED THAT THE CROATIAN  
GOVERNMENT MUST RENEW ITS EMPHASIS ON RESPECT FOR THE  
RIGHTS OF CITIZENS, PUBLIC ORDER AND PEACE. TUDJMAN,  
IN RECENT DAYS, HAS RECEIVED HUMAN RIGHTS DELEGATIONS  
FROM HELSINKI WATCH AND THE EC, AND A DOMESTIC  
AMNESTY COMMITTEE MADE UP OF SERBS AND OPPOSITION  
POLITICAL FIGURES. IN SPITE OF HELSINKI WATCH'S  
STRONG CONDEMNATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN  
CROATIA, TUDJMAN HELD A CORDIAL MEETING WITH THE  
ORGANIZATION'S REPRESENTATIVES AND PROVIDED A  
WELL-CONSIDERED, DETAILED WRITTEN RESPONSE TO THEIR  
FINDINGS. IN A COMPLETE CHANGE OF TONE, THE  
GOVERNMENT'S REPLY THANKED HELSINKI WATCH FOR ITS  
INTEREST IN EVENTS IN CROATIA AND THE OBJECTIVE  
EVALUATION OF ITS REPORT.

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[13.](#) WESTERN PRESSURE ON THIS ISSUE HAS HAD SOME  
SUCCESS, AT LEAST IN TERMS OF ATTITUDINAL SHIFTS BY  
CROATIAN LEADERS. IT IS NOT CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT  
THIS HAS TRANSLATED INTO MORE FORCEFUL ACTION TO CURB  
ABUSES. IF ANYTHING, HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON THE  
CROAT SIDE MAY HAVE INCREASED IN RECENT WEEKS. WE  
HAVE NOT SENSED A CONCURRENT UPSURGE IN  
INVESTIGATIONS AND ARRESTS (THOUGH THE PICTURE ON  
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THIS IS UNCLEAR). THE GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO IMPOSE  
THE RULE OF LAW ON THE GROUND IS GREATLY RESTRICTED  
BY THE WAR. END SUMMARY.

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	SR-01	SSO-00	SS-01	STR-20	TRSE-00	T-01	/090W

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FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0659  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [PREL](#)  
SUBJECT: SERBS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: A QUESTION OF  
DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

[11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.](#)

THE SERBIAN CHARGE: FEAR, EXPULSIONS AND  
DISAPPEARANCES

[14. WITH THE "HOT" WAR ABATING, DAMPENED BY THE  
ARRIVAL OF UN PEACEKEEPING FORCES, THE FIGHT OVER  
LAND \(WITH ORDINARY CITIZENS AS THE COMBATANTS\) IS  
HEATING UP. EMBASSY BELGRADE AND CONGEN ZAGREB HAVE  
REPORTED ON THE EFFORTS OF BOTH SIDES TO FORCE  
CIVILIANS TO FLEE THEIR HOMES AND RESETTLE EITHER  
CROATS OR SERBS IN THE ABANDONED PROPERTIES IN ORDER  
TO REARRANGE THE ETHNIC MAKE-UP OF ENTIRE VILLAGES  
AND TOWNS. EVEN IN THE LARGER CITIES, THERE HAVE](#)  
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BEEN CHARGES THAT A CLIMATE OF FEAR AND INTIMIDATION  
HAS BEEN CREATED TO PRESSURE MEMBERS OF ONE ETHNIC  
GROUP TO LEAVE, THEREBY REDUCING THE PERCENTAGE OF  
THAT GROUP WITHIN THE OVERALL POPULATION. THE  
FOLLOWING SCORE CARDS ARE NOT ALL-INCLUSIVE, OTHERS  
SUCH AS HELSINKI WATCH HAVE MORE RESOURCES TO COMPILE  
SUCH DATA. THE OBJECTIVE HERE IS RATHER TO HIGHLIGHT  
THE MAJOR CASES AND GIVE A SENSE OF THE ATMOSPHERE AS  
THE UN PEACEKEEPERS BEGIN TO ARRIVE.

15. ON THE SERB SIDE, CASES OF ABUSE ARE REPORTED ALMOST DAILY IN THE BELGRADE PRESS. LOCAL ZAGREB BASED HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS ARE ALSO KEEPING TRACK, THOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO VERIFY THE REPORTS OF EVEN THE MOST CREDIBLE SOURCE. FOR AN UPDATE, WE SPOKE WITH SERBIAN ACTIVIST MILORAD PUPOVAC ON MARCH 25, WHO CONFIRMED THAT PRESSURE CONTINUES TO BE EXERTED ON THE SERBIAN COMMUNITY OF CROATIA. PUPOVAC AGAIN EXPRESSED PARTICULAR CONCERN ABOUT THE FORCED FLIGHT OF URBAN SERBS. MOST RECENTLY, IN THE MAJOR COASTAL CITY OF ZADAR, THE SERBIAN LEADER CLAIMED THAT THE HOMES AND PROPERTY OF SERBS WHO HAVE TEMPORARILY LEFT ARE BEING "MINED AND BLOWN UP." IN THE CASE OF ZAGREB, PUPOVAC ESTIMATED THAT PERHAPS HALF OF THE SERBS WHO HAD BEEN RESIDING IN THE CROATIAN CAPITAL HAD LEFT, AT LEAST TEMPORARILY. HE POINTED TO THE NON-PAYMENT OF PENSIONS TO RETIRED JNA OFFICERS (WHICH HE SAID HAD A GREATER IMPACT ON THE SERBIAN COMMUNITY) AS A SERIOUS MATTER WHICH COULD LEAD TO ABANDONMENT OF HOUSES AND APARTMENTS SINCE THE RESIDENT ARE UNABLE TO PAY FOR UTILITY SERVICES AND

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OTHER RELATED EXPENSES. (FYI: WE HAVE MIXED REPORTS ON THIS, WITH SOME SERBS SAYING THEY CONTINUE TO ROUTINELY RECEIVE THEIR JNA PENSIONS.)

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O 310728Z MAR 92  
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0660  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
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AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

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**11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.**

**16.** AS HE DID IN OUR PREVIOUS MEETINGS, PUPOVAC CITED A NUMBER OF SPECIFIC AND DETAILED ABUSES AGAINST SERBS. HE ADMITTED THAT SOME OF THE INCIDENTS HAD BEEN INVESTIGATED BY CROATIAN OFFICIALS. BUT WHILE MANY IN THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT UNDERSTOOD THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE SHOULD BE PUNISHED, IT APPEARED THAT THE MORE HARD-LINE ELEMENT HOLDS GREAT SWAY AT THE MOMENT. HERE ARE SOME OF THE SPECIFICS PUPOVAC CITED. (FYI: ALL OF THESE CASES HAVE BEEN REPORTED EARLIER BY EITHER CONGEN, EMBASSY OR HELSINKI WATCH.)

-- GOSPIC: PUPOVAC SAID 180 SERBS HAD DISAPPEARED THERE. SIXTY-THREE WERE CONFIRMED DEAD, THE REST ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESUMED JAILED OR DEAD. IN SEPARATE INSTANCES, SERBS FROM ZAGREB HAD BEEN KIDNAPPED FROM ZAGREB AND TAKEN TO GOSPIC. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY SEVERAL OF OUR CONTACTS THAT THE CROATIAN SIDE WAS KIDNAPPING SERBS TO USE AS BARTER TO OBTAIN THE RETURN OF CAPTURED CROATIAN CIVILIANS.

-- PUPOVAC SAID SERBS WHO RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES AFTER FLEEING THE FIGHTING WERE BEING MISTREATED. HE CITED THE CASE OF DARUVAR, WHERE HE SAID SIGNS WERE POSTED LISTING 9,000 NAMES OF AREA SERB RESIDENTS; THESE SIGNS ACCUSED ALL OF THEM OF BEING ENEMIES OF CROATIA AND CALLED FOR THEIR EXPULSION.

-- HE SAID 100 SERBS FROM VIROVITICA HAD DISAPPEARED.

**17.** MORE GENERALLY, PUPOVAC SAID THAT WHILE HE FOUND SOME MEMBERS OF THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT INDIVIDUALLY UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TO COME TO TERMS WITH THE PROBLEMS FACING SERB-CROAT RELATIONS IN AN INDEPENDENT CROATIA (HE SPECIFICALLY SPOKE OF HAVING A LONG AND USEFUL TALK WITH OPPOSITION LEADER DRAZEN BUDISA WHILE HE WAS STILL IN THE GOVERNMENT AND OF GOOD CONTACTS WITH SAVKA DABCEVIC-KUCAR, AN UNANNOUNCED CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT), TUDJMAN HIMSELF DOES NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT CREDIBILITY WITH SERBS TO REACH AN ACCORD WITH THEM, AND THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE IS NOT READY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN SERBS IN CROATIA. IN HIS MOST PESSIMISTIC NOTE, PUPOVAC SPECULATED THAT CROATIAN AUTHORITIES ARE ACTUALLY HOPING THAT THE FEAR AND

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PRESSURES NOW ON URBAN SERBS WILL HELP REDUCE THE POPULATION TO BELOW 8 PERCENT OF THE REPUBLIC'S TOTAL, THEREBY EXCLUDING IT FROM THE GUARANTEES FOR REPRESENTATION AS SPELLED OUT IN THE NEW ELECTION

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

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[11.](#) CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

LAW. HE CLAIMED THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING  
TO DRIVE OUT MILAN DUKIC, THE LONELY SERB IN THE  
CROATIAN ASSEMBLY. (NOTE: MANY HERE BELIEVE THAT  
DUKIC READILY PLAYS THE ROLE OF THE "GOOD SERB" AND  
EVEN RECEIVES FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR HIS PARTY FROM  
THE GOVERNMENT. DUKIC HAS NEVER, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE,  
EXPRESSED ANY CONCERN FOR HIS WELL-BEING, OR ANY  
INTENTION TO ABANDON CROATIA.)

[18.](#) ALTHOUGH PUPOVAC'S ALLEGATIONS ARE THE MORE  
DETAILED AND SPECIFIC, OTHERS (INCLUDING CROATS) HAVE  
EXPRESSED SIMILAR CONCERNS ABOUT THE STATE OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS IN CROATIA. DUKIC, DESPITE THE DOUBTS ABOUT  
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HIS BONIFIDES TO SPEAK AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE  
SERBIAN PEOPLE, HAS RECENTLY BEEN MORE ASSERTIVE IN  
DENOUNCING ABUSES AGAINST SERBS IN THE REPUBLIC.  
CROATIAN OPPOSITION POLITICAL FIGURES, SUCH AS SAVKA  
DABCEVIC KUCAR OF THE CROATIAN NATIONAL PARTY AND  
DRAZEN BUDISA OF THE CROATIAN SOCIAL LIBERAL PARTY  
HAVE, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF DECRYING THE  
CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF ONE MAN AND  
THE INCREASING SENSE OF VITUAL LAWLESSNESS IN SOME  
PARTS OF THE REPUBLIC, COMPLAINED OF THE DECREASING  
RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

THE CROATIAN CHARGE: FEAR, EXPULSIONS AND KILLINGS

[19.](#) THE CROATS, TOO, HAVE MADE A CASE FOR THE ABUSE  
AND GRIEVOUS MISTREATMENT OF CROATIAN RESIDENTS BY  
JNA/SERB FORCES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF  
CROATIA- WE PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING ILLUSTRATIVE  
INFORMATION REPORTED IN THE CROATIAN MEDIA:

-- ON MARCH 15, 139 CROATIAN CITIZENS OF THE VILLAGE  
OF BOKSIC, NEAR VUKOVAR, WERE EXPelled BY SERBIAN  
TERRITORIAL DEFENSE UNITS FROM THE NEARBY VILLAGE OF  
CAKOVAC.

-- IN TORDINCI, A VILLAGE IN SLAVONIA WHICH HAS BEEN  
UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE JNA FOR ALMOST FIVE MONTHS,  
30 INNOCENT PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED. THE CROATS  
ALLEGED THAT THEIR BODIES WERE BURIED IN A MASS GRAVE  
NEAR THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

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-- FROM THE ILOK REGION, 12,000 PEOPLE HAVE  
REPORTEDLY BEEN EXPELLED. AFTER THE EXODUS, ONLY  
3,780 CROATS REMAIN. IN THIS REGION, BEFORE THE

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	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SCT-03	SIL-01	SNP-01	SP-01
	SR-01	SSO-00	SS-01	STR-20	TRSE-00	T-01	/090W

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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SIPDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

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[¶1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.](#)

FIGHTING, SERBS WERE IN THE MINORITY. ACCORDING TO  
CROATIAN FIGURES, THE POPULATION HAD BEEN COMPRISED  
OF 11,500 CROATS (71 PERCENT) AND 2,000 SERBS (12  
PERCENT).

-- ON JANUARY 19, 64 PEOPLE FROM AN AREA AROUND  
BENKOVAC WERE FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR HOMES AFTER THE  
JNA FAILED TO PROVIDE SECURITY FROM POTENTIAL ATTACKS  
FROM CHETNIK BANDS.

-- ON JANUARY 22, 110 PEOPLE OF CROATIAN NATIONALITY  
WERE "EXILED" BY THE JNA FROM THEIR VILLAGES IN THE  
BENKOVAC COMMUNITY.

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THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT: GROWING CONCERNS

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¶10. ALTHOUGH THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO VIEW HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES AS POLITICAL PROBLEMS, WHICH ACCOUNTS FOR ITS ALMOST TIT-FOR-TAT REPORTING OF SERBIAN VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF CROATS, THERE IS A GROWING SENSE THAT THE OVERALL SECURITY SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC IS SPIRALLING OUT OF CONTROL. GENERAL CRIME IS ON THE RISE AND THERE IS A GROWING BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER. AT LEAST SOME OFFICIALS IN THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT HAVE MADE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN TOLERATION OF VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AGAINST SERBS AND THE DECLINING STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE REPUBLIC.

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¶11. IN AN ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE JANUARY 31 EDITION OF THE POLITICAL INFLUENTIAL DAILY "VJESNIK", SOME CASES WERE REVEALED ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR OF PERSONS IN CROATIAN UNIFORMS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS FOR WHOM THE WAR HAS BECOME A COVER-UP FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF NUMEROUS PRIVATE, COLLECTIVE AND PARTY INTERESTS ACCORDING TO "VJESNIK":

-- A RULE WAS ESTABLISHED IN KARLOVAC THAT EACH DYNAMITING OR SHELLING OF CROATIAN HOUSES IN THE KARLOVAC SUBURBS (THE ZONE WHICH IS UNDER SERB/JNA CONTROL) WOULD RESULT IN RETALIATORY EXPLOSIONS OF HOUSES OF EXILED SERBS;

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-- IN ZADAR, UNIFORMED "DEFENDERS", INSTEAD OF DEFENDING THEIR CITY, "DEFENDED" WITH GUNS THE APARTMENTS OF JNA OFFICERS WHO HAD MOVED AWAY;

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FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

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DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

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[11.](#) CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

-- ON THE WESTERN SLAVONIA FRONT, ONE CROATIAN UNIT  
"KEPT SECRET" FOR TWO DAYS THEIR ENTRY INTO ONE OF  
THE MORE PROSPEROUS SERBIAN VILLAGES IN ORDER TO HAVE  
ENOUGH TIME TO "CLEAN IT UP";

-- UNIFORMED PERSONS ENTER LOCAL BARS WITH THEIR  
FIREARMS, SHOOTING TO QUIET DOWN THE MUSIC, AND  
DRINKING AT THE EXPENSE OF "CROATIA". PASSING  
THROUGH SERBIAN VILLAGES, THESE PERSONS FIRE OFF  
THEIR WEAPONS IN ORDER TO CREATE A "WAR ATMOSPHERE"  
AND CALL INTO QUESTION THE SECURITY OF THE LOCAL  
POPULATION;

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-- EXECUTIVE ORGANS HOLD "ALL POWER" IN LOCAL  
COMMUNITIES AND ACT WITH IMPUNITY IN THEIR DEALINGS  
WITH RESIDENTS, ESPECIALLY SERBS.

[112.](#) IN A MARCH 5 PRESS CONFERENCE, CROATIAN PRIME  
MINISTER, FRANJO GREGURIC, EXPRESSED EXPLICIT CONCERN  
OVER THESE NEGATIVE TRENDS. AMONG OTHER POINTS, HE  
STATED THAT:

-- THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT MUST RENEW ITS EMPHASIS  
ON RESPECT FOR CITIZENS' RIGHTS, PUBLIC ORDER AND  
PEACE. "THOSE WHO DO NOT WISH TO FOLLOW SUCH A  
POLICY", SAID GREGURIC, "WILL HAVE TO LEAVE."  
BURGLARIES, ROBBERIES AND BOMBINGS OF PRIVATE HOMES  
AND BUILDINGS MUST STOP;

-- THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROPOSED AND PRESIDENT  
TUDJMAN HAS ACCEPTED, THE ABOLISHMENT OF THE  
REPUBLICAN AND COMMUNITY CRISIS HEADQUARTERS. LOCAL  
EXECUTIVE COUNCILS, AS THE LEGAL CIVIL AUTHORITIES,  
MUST REGAIN AUTHORITY ON THEIR TERRITORY;

-- THE EMERGENCY LEGAL POWER WHICH WAS GRANTED BY  
THE ASSEMBLY TO THE GOVERNMENT TO ISSUE BINDING  
DECREES IN TIME OF WAR WILL SOON BE "RETURNED" TO THE  
ASSEMBLY;

-- IT IS NECESSARY TO SECURE DISCIPLINE IN CROATIAN  
ARMY UNITS. NO PARALLEL MILITARY FORMATIONS CAN BE  
TOLERATED;

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 00468 06 OF 09 310740Z  
-- THE SIZE AND MISSION OF THE CROATIAN ARMY MUST BE  
CLEARLY DEFINED. "CROATIA MUST NOT BE A MILITARISTIC  
COUNTRY." IN THE FUTURE, THE GOVERNMENT WILL MORE  
CLOSERLY CONTROL CROATIAN ARMY EXPENSES. JNA BARRACKS

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO LOG-00 AID-01 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 CISA-02  
EB-01 HA-09 H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 IO-19 LAB-04  
L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-01  
PRS-01 P-01 RP-10 SCT-03 SIL-01 SNP-01 SP-01  
SR-01 SSO-00 SS-01 STR-20 TRSE-00 T-01 /090W  
-----212A90 310743Z /38

O 310728Z MAR 92

FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0664

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMCONSUL MILAN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION USNATO 1596

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0815  
USIA WASHDC 1358  
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//  
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON//N24//  
USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 0283

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [PREL](#)  
SUBJECT: SERBS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: A QUESTION OF  
DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

[¶1.](#) CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

HAVE TO BE RETURNED TO THE CITIES FOR CIVILIAN USE.  
THOSE WHICH HAVE "FAVORABLE LOCATIONS" COULD BE  
OFFERED TO THE U.N. PEACEKEEPING FORCES IN CROATIA;

-- THE GOVERNMENT IS MAKING EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE  
REPUBLIC'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BECAUSE PRODUCTION HAS  
TO BE STIMULATED, MILITARY FORCES HAVE TO BE  
REDUCED. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO WORKING SERIOUSLY ON  
A PRIVATIZATION PROGRAM.

[¶13.](#) CROATS OUSIDE OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE ALSO BECOME  
CONCERNED WITH WHAT EFFECT THE FIGHT AGAINST THE  
SO-CALLED "FIFTH COLUMN" OF DISLOYAL SERBS AND OTHERS  
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PAGE 03 ZAGREB 00468 07 OF 09 310742Z  
HAS DONE TO THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA. THE  
WELL RESPECTED, INDEPENDENT POLITICAL WEEKLY "DANAS"  
HAS CONSISTENTLY OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS RAISED  
THE SPECTER OF AN ELABORATE STATE SECURITY APPARATUS  
EXISTING BEYOND THE CONTROL OF THE GOVERNMENT, UNDER  
THE CONTROL OF LONG-TIME TRUSTED TUDJMAN CRONY JOSIP  
MANOLIC (A SECURITY OFFICIAL UNDER FORMER COMMUNIST  
REGIMES) AND ANSWERABLE ONLY TO TUDJMAN. THE CIRCLE  
THAT SERVES AS THE CROATIAN PRESIDENT'S REAL ADVISERS  
GROWS TIGHTER, WITH DISPROPORTIONATE POWER RESTING IN  
THE HANDS OF AN EVER SMALLER GROUP. THE RECENT  
PETITION DRIVE OF YOUTH OPPOSITION LEADERS CALLING  
FOR THE RESIGNATION OF MEDIA CZAR ANTON VRDOLJAK  
(ANOTHER CLOSE TUDJMAN ADVISER) IS ANOTHER REFLECTION  
OF THIS CONCERN.

¶14. AT A FEBRUARY 3 PRESS CONFERENCE, THE CROATIAN PRESIDENT, FRANJO TUDJMAN, ENDORSED A CALL BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF HIS OWN PARTY FOR A "POLITICAL ACTION" AGAINST ABUSE AND CRIME. "LEGALITY HAS TO RULE IN CROATIA", SAID TUDJMAN AND "CROATIA MUST BE A LEGAL STATE WHICH IS AGAINST ALL FORM OF ABUSE AND ARBITRARINESS." ACCORDING TO JOURNALISTS, TUDJMAN NOTED THAT IN ADDITION TO THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THE CROAT-SERB RELATIONSHIP, A PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM IS ALSO PRESENT. THE CROATIAN PRESIDENT REPORTEDLY CALLED FOR A CONCILIATORY HAND TO BE EXTENDED TO THOSE "WHO PROVOKED THE WAR."

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¶15. IN RECENT DAYS, TUDJMAN HAS CONTINUED HIS HUMAN RIGHTS OFFENSIVE, HOLDING CORDIAL MEETINGS WITH DELEGATIONS FROM HELSINKI WATCH, THE EC, AND A LOCAL

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	CISA-02
	EB-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	LAB-04
	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01
	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SCT-03	SIL-01	SNP-01	SP-01
	SR-01	SSO-00	SS-01	STR-20	TRSE-00	T-01	/090W

-----212AB2 310744Z /38

O 310728Z MAR 92  
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0665  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION USNATO 1597

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USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0816  
USIA WASHDC 1359  
COMSIXTHFLT//N2//  
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USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 0284

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 08 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

SIPDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC; VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL CSBM

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [PREL](#)  
SUBJECT: SERBS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: A QUESTION OF  
DEMOCRACY IN CROATIA

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11. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

AMNESTY COMMITTEE MADE UP OF SERBS AND OPPOSITION FIGURES. IN PARTICULAR, CROATIA'S RESPONSE TO THE HELSINKI WATCH REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN CROATIA DID NOT HAVE THE DEFENSIVE, PRICKLY SLANT WHICH THE GOVERNMENT NORMALLY TAKES IN RESPONDING TO SUCH ALLEGATIONS. TO BE SURE, THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHIDE HELSINKI WATCH FOR NOT BEING MORE INTERESTED IN THE PLIGHT OF CROATS IN THE SO-CALLED JNA-OCCUPIED REGIONS. BUT THE CROATIAN REPLY WAS DETAILED AND REVEALED CLEARLY THAT THE CROATS HAD TAKEN SERIOUSLY THE ALLEGATIONS.

116. EVEN MORE IMPORTANTLY, FOR THE FIRST TIME THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CROATS APPEARED TO REACT IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY TO THE CHARGES AND ADMITTED SHORTCOMINGS IN ITS RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL OF ITS CITIZENS. IN ITS INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT, THE TUDJMAN GOVERNMENT DECLARED THAT "THE CROATIAN GOVERNMENT IS AWARE THAT SOME CRIMES HAVE BEEN COMMITTED ALSO BY PERSONS WEARING THE UNIFORMS OF THE CROATIAN FORCES," BUT QUICKLY NOTED THAT "THESE PERSONS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND PROSECUTED." THE STATEMENT ROUNDLY AND UNEQUIVOCALLY CONDEMNED SUCH CRIMES, INDICATED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD REQUESTED FROM ITS DEPARTMENTS REPORTS ON VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONCLUDED THAT "SPECIAL STRESS IS ON THEIR GREATER COMMITMENT TO PREVENT THE RECURRENT OF SIMILAR CASES." AND, IN A MOST ATYPICAL TONE, EXPRESSED "THANKS TO THE HELSINKI WATCH COMMITTEE FOR THE ATTENTION IT HAS DEDICATED TO THE EVENTS IN CROATIA AND FOR THE ATTEMPT TO PRESENT THE FACTS ABOUT ABUSES IN AN OBJECTIVE MANNER."

117. COMMENT: ARE WE BEGINNING TO SEE A KINDER, GENTLER CROATIAN PRESIDENT ON THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS? WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO CONCLUDE THAT OUR MANY PROTESTATIONS TO TUDJMAN AND HIS AIDES ON THESE QUESTIONS ARE FINALLY STARTING TO PAY DIVIDENDS, BUT WE ARE NOT FULLY CONVINCED OF THIS. FOR TUDJMAN, HUMAN RIGHTS IS STILL A NAGGING POLITICAL ISSUE. OTHERS (GREGURIC, TOMAC) MAY BE SINCERELY TROUBLED BY THIS INCREASING SPIRAL OF VIOLENCE. FOR THEM, OUR PRESSURE AND THAT OF OTHERS MAY HAVE HAD AN IMPACT IN MAKING IT CLEAR TO THEM

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PAGE 04 ZAGREB 00468 08 OF 09 310744Z  
THAT ALONG WITH GRANTING RECOGNITION, THE WORLD WILL INSIST ON CERTAIN STANDARDS IN TERMS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. AS WE MOVE BEYOND THE WAR STAGE, THESE PEOPLE ARE AWARE THAT THERE WILL BE NO MORE READY

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ACTION EUR-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	CISA-02
	EB-01	HA-09	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	IO-19	LAB-04
	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01
	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SCT-03	SIL-01	SNP-01	SP-01
	SR-01	SSO-00	SS-01	STR-20	TRSE-00	T-01	/090W

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O 310728Z MAR 92  
FM AMCONSUL ZAGREB  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0666  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMCONSUL MILAN  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
USMISSION USNATO 1598

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COMSIXTHFLT//N2//  
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USEUCOM VAIHINGEN GE//ECJ3/ECJ5//  
WHITE HOUSE WASHDC 0285

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 09 OF 09 ZAGREB 00468

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**1.** CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

EXCUSES, AND CROATIA WILL HAVE TO COME TO GRIPS WITH  
WHAT KIND OF DEMOCRACY IT WANTS. EINIK

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